# RRR
# ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT

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## Zhirinovsky: Yet Another "Hitler"?

**by Murray N. Rothbard**

There has been a lot of talk of late about a new possible joy, or menace: Cloning, and moralists have been jawing at some length about its wonders or dangers. But we have overlooked the fact that one man seems already to have pioneered in this impossible feat—and without benefit of hi-tech. I speak of course of Adolf Hitler, who supposedly achieved the irrevocable fact of death in 1945, nearly a half-century ago. And yet, he has apparently succeeded in generating a whole host of clones. Consider, that in the last few years, *at least* the following people have been universally hailed—no, "hailed" is not quite the right word—as "the new Hitler:" Saddam Hussein, the Ayatollah Khomeini, Colonel Khadafy, General Aidid, Slobodan Milosevic, David Duke, Ross Perot, and Pat Buchanan. There are also a bunch of apprentice "Hitlers," who haven't quite made it yet to the big time: Istvan Czurka, Zvia Gamsakhurdia, Alessandra Mussolini (a Hitlerette), and many others: indeed, it seems that there is a "Hitler" lurking behind every bush.

> Oh the *geschrei*: the wailing and bitching and moaning, from our Menshevik ruling elite.

The most recent Hitler anointee is Vladimir Zhirinovsky, who rose to a spectacular victory in the December Russian elections. In the aftermath of Zhirinovsky's Liberal Democratic party coming in first in an election that Yeltsin had outrageously rigged in his behalf, the American media were filled with hysterical pundits, including "pro-Western" Muscovites, braying about "another Hitler." On *Nightline*, that old Commie fraud Vladimir Posner, some Russian named Andrei, and Ted Koppel, topped each other in crazed invective. "Like Hitler, Zhir-

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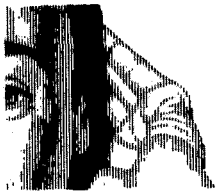

## THE EAR

**by Sarah Barton**

In mid-December, Dyanne Petersen, veteran libertarian and free-market activist, was picked up at the Portland, Ore. airport on arrival from Japan in possession of eleven pounds of heroin. If convicted on a charge of heroin dealing, this would be Dyanne's second conviction on the charge, and could, without plea bargaining, subject her to mandatory life imprisonment.

In her early 20s, Dyanne, daughter of a Chicago industrialist, was an associate of the late Abbie Hoffman on the New Left and served a term on a heroin

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***THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)***
charge in a federal penitentiary. After her conversion to libertarianism, Dyanne, an articulate and energetic person, played an active role in numerous libertarian organizations, mainly in Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago. After serving as executive director of the Southern California Libertarian Party, Dyanne worked at the Laissez-Faire Book Store, the Center for Libertarian Studies in New York, and for numerous hard-money newsletters. Recently, she played a prominent role at the Heartland Institute in Chicago, promoting school vouchers, and as their health care analyst.

* * * * *

A tip of my chapeau to David Brock for "Living With the Clintons" in last month's *American Spectator*. David shows that Bill was an Arkansas satyr, juggling five or six girlfriends at a time, not counting a multitude of "quickies," some in the parking lot of Chelsea's school!

Bill used state troopers and state cars to proposition girls; to transport them to assignations; to arrange free hotel rooms ("the governor needs a room for an hour or so to take a call from the White House"); to sneak them into the executive mansion for a "personal tour," sometimes while Hillary was upstairs sleeping; and to send them flowers and presents. Oral sex, he once assured troopers, was not adultery according to the Bible.

Bill used his position as governor to get state jobs for some of his girlfriends. He used his power as president to threaten the troopers who talked, as well as to offer them federal jobs if they shut up. And as the Ear has herself reported, David also shows that the unbelievably foulmouthed Hillary ("Garbage Mouth" was her nickname) had a long-term affair with her Arkansas law partner, Vincent Foster, who later "committed suicide" as a White House aide. The late Vince, by the way, bore a striking resemblance to Chelsea. Ah yes: the First Family.

* * * * *

Not in David's article: one of Bill's ex-girlfriends is trying to sell a book manuscript in New York City. In it, she claims that she's HIV positive, and that Bill gave it to her. Is this why Bill wouldn't release his medical records during the campaign?

* * * * *

By the way, it's not true—as claimed by the lying media—that a trooper reneged on his disclosure of Clinton offering jobs in return for silence. To avoid technically breaking the law, Bill offered plush jobs for "supplying private information to the White House." Typical Slick Willie!

* * * * *

Shame on editor Jim McFadden for canning his old friend Joe Sobran from *The Human Life Review* without so much as a phone call. Joe had written masterpieces for the otherwise boring publication, but Jim had to follow his Master's example. (Bill Buckley, that is.)

* * * * *

The entire Buckley-Sobran saga is told in Joe's hot new monograph, "How I Got Fired by Bill Buckley." It's $5.00 postpaid from CLS, Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011. Buckley, and the Official Conservative movement will never be the same again.

* * * * *

A worried friend of Bill Buckley's reports that he is obsessed with Joe Sobran, talking about little else, and muttering and yelling by turns. ■

***ZHIRINOVSKY cont. from pg.1)***
inovsky is preying on discontent and economic collapse." Well, if there is discontent and collapse, why shouldn't *some* leader do some preying? Hell, isn't that what "democracy" is supposed to be all about? It's remarkable how all these social democrat propagandists who control our media have a continual love affair with "democracy." They believe that United States foreign policy should be exclusively devoted to ramming democracy down everyone's throat across the globe, and yet, when an election takes place somewhere and the people choose someone our Menshevik ruling elite doesn't like, oh the *geschrei*: the wailing and bitching and moaning, and "Hitler! Hitler! Hitler!"

Who then are "the democrats"? When Yeltsin invaded Parliament and jailed his opposition, and shut down press opposition and outlawed opposing political parties, our corrupt and Orwellian social democrats/neocons smugly declared, "well, he did what he had to



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do," and "that's the price that has to be paid for 'democracy'." The right-wing, or nationalist, forces were mainly opposed to the Yeltsin coup, and so *their* parties were not allowed on the Yeltsin-style "democratic ballot." Zhirinovsky and his Liberal Democrats were about the only nationalist party who went along with the Yeltsin coup, and hence they remained on the ballot as the only beacon for Russian nationalist voters.

The sudden rise of Zhirinovsky, to the amazement of our Menshevik pundits, caused them to change their Line on nationalism-and-Communism with startling speed. The Old Line was that nationalists and Commies were all somehow the same: "ex"-Communists had oddly become "conservative nationalists," and it was darkly muttered that Zhirinovsky had once been some sort of KGB stooge. It was the heroic "democratic reformers" vs. the evil Communists-nationalists. But, with Zhirinovsky's triumph came a sudden shift to the New Line: Commies, previously the quintessence of evil, were now really Not-So-Bad Guys who were potential allies in the new fight against the Greater Menace, Zhirinovsky's "neo-fascism." It seems that Commies weren't so bad after all. Yegor Gaidar, the Yeltsinite reformer and favorite of the U.S. media, called for "a broad antifascist coalition and a "popular front" (Boo!), and declared a ready willingness to work with the Communists to stop the fascist menace. It was 1937 all over again.

**Liberals, leftists, and Commies are all brothers under the skin: all different variants of Marxist egalitarian.**

The U.S. Establishment keeps likening the current situation to the 1930s, and they are right: but not quite in the way they mean. What *they* —the left, liberal, and neocon branches of Menshevism—are all bleating is that Hitler is Back. But the really interesting parallel is the way in which all the branches of Marxoid liberalism can easily bury their differences as soon as any sniff of right-wing nationalism, or "fascism," appears on the horizon, ready once again to coalesce liberals, Socialists, and Communists against the allegedly overriding menace of "fascism." In other words, as the Old Right said all along: liberals, leftists, and Commies are all brothers under the skin: all different variants of Marxist egalitarian. So much for the Mensheviki's much-trumpeted "anti-Communism." Or are Communists only bad when they are pro-nationalist?

The appearance of Zhirinovsky led whatever shreds of "objectivity" had remained in our Establishment Media to be thrown overboard. It was a shameless and odious performance. Thus, the *Los Angeles Times* tossed all old-fashioned standards of objective journalism out the window, as it proclaimed, in a "news" headline; "A Threat Rises From the Right," and "Russian Reformers Pledge to Counter Threat of Fascism." Paper after paper, as well as TV pundits such as Ted Koppel, hastened to instruct us that the Zhirinovsky party was not "really" Liberal Democrats, a "misnomer," but rather was "openly" "neofascist." In short, the American public is not to be permitted to read or hear factual news without benefit of interpretive brainwashing by the left-liberal media. After all, Zhirinovsky had the option of naming his party "neofascist," and choose instead to call it Liberal Democrats. Surely, there was *some* reason for this other than "open" fascism?

The worst aspect of this news brownout is that we are not permitted to find out for ourselves the program or platform of the Liberal Democrats. Why can't we learn what it is, instead of subsisting only on loaded quotes pulled out of Zhirinovsky's speeches? On the basis of these possibly doctored quotes, we are even told that Zhirinovsky has the terrible and unusual habit of contradicting himself, and *Nightline* even assembled contradictory quotes in a feature entitled "Zhirinovsky versus Zhirinovsky." My God, is he the first leader to contradict himself in campaign statements? It is not beyond memory of living man when our own Slick Willie was featured in columns



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such as "Clinton vs. Clinton" during the campaign, and it didn't seem to damage him at all. Why hold V.Z. [Zhirinovsky] to a higher standard?

The swiftly orchestrated chorus of smear and hate against V.Z. ranges, of course, smoothly across the tiny spectrum of leftist, liberal, and Respectable Right (neocon) punditry. All colors of this ideological spectrum think and act as one on this issue, from Communist to Heritage Foundation Russian "expert" Ariel Cohen, who virtually brands V.Z. as psychotic, and warns darkly that in "new democracies" such as Russia, "laws are needed to ban extremists." Well, Ariel, in some polities, you and your ilk might be considered "extremists." And what then? Some "democracy"!

Sometimes the Smear Bund reaches unconsciously funny heights. Thus, the *New York Times*'s Serge Schmemann sneers that V.Z.'s campaign autobiography "reads like a parody of Dostoevsky's *Insulted and Injured*," that he "remembers every childhood slight" and "seems to revel in describing humiliations." And the moral is accordingly drawn in a *New York Times* Op-Ed by left-liberal Harvard historian Charles S. Maier: "His [V.Z.'s] streak of self-pity is common to many despots."

Now, see here! Our entire American culture has been "reveling," nay wallowing, in self-pity and aggressive victimhood for many years! Every day, on Oprah and Geraldo and Sally Jesse, creep after creep gets up and proudly proclaims his victimhood, his history as a lifelong abusee—and he is wildly applauded for this display! And all of a sudden we have to pounce on poor V.Z. Come on, give us a break! Besides, the main grievance mentioned by Schemann is V.Z.'s "miserable childhood in a communal apartment," a lot better excuse for Victimhood than most of the grievances beloved by American culture. Zhirinovsky indeed is refreshingly anti-Communist; he points out that, in contrast to the sainted Yeltsin and the other "reformers," he was never a member of the Communist Party. But he *is* an unabashed Russian nationalist and patriot; and that's the real sin, isn't it, Comrades Mensheviki?

**But he *is* an unabashed Russian nationalist and patriot; and that's the real sin, isn't it, Comrades Mensheviki?**

Indeed, while it is difficult to discern the real Zhirinovsky through the mud and the distortions put up by the U.S. Media Curtain, it is pretty clear what V.Z. really is: a Russian nationalist. And what's wrong with *that*? In *RRR* we have long celebrated every nationalism: Croatian, Serbian, Georgian, Abkhazian, Chechen, etc. And while the Menshevik Media have been much grumpier about these new nationalisms in Eastern Europe and beyond, they have grudgingly gone along. So why in the world shouldn't poor Russia, swamped for almost a century by internationalist-Communist totalitarianism, why shouldn't it too enjoy a nationalist renaissance? There are various aspects of Russian tradition that American and Russo-American pundits don't like? Tough patooties. Why should American busybodies have to approve of every nationalism throughout the world? As for Russian refugees/emigres/exiles in the United States, such emigres from many lands have long been a pain-in-the neck and a thorn in the side of American foreign policy. For almost all of them, unhappy about the state of affairs in their native land (and why else did they emigrate to the U.S., after all?), itch to suck powerful, goodhearted America into intervening to right the many wrongs of their homelands. It seems to me that an implicit social contract on emigrating to the U.S. is that one gives up, not interest in one's homeland, but trying to use your adopted land as an adjunct for your own desires for the Old Country.

And so V.Z. is a Russian nationalist. And just as it is perfectly legitimate for, say Georgians or Chechens to want Russians *out* of their country, to win independence from Russia, so is it equally legitimate for *Russians* to dislike what they



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consider the "invasion," the infestation, of hated Georgians, Chechens, etc. in their own Russian homeland. If there are too darn many Russians in Georgia or Latvia, and there are understandable moves to deport these Russians back to their homeland or else deprive them of political power, why is it not equally legitimate for Russians to want to send Georgians (Chechens) back to Georgia (Chechenya?) Often, Americans naively and vaingloriously feel that since the U.S. has been a successful "melting pot" of numerous immigrant groups and nationalities, that every other country must be forced to adopt the same polity. That is absurd and counterproductive; most peoples around the world hate the other peoples they know best; hence, forced propinquity and "multicultural democracy" in these lands can only be a recipe for a gigantic cauldron of endless "ethnic cleansings." Programs of Serbia for the Serbs, Croatia for the Croats, Abkhazia for the Abkhazians, Russia for the Russians, etc., while clearly not perfect, are the only way to minimize provocations for mutual ethnic cleansing. And besides, even the American "melting pot" is getting increasingly "dysfunctional" these days, to use popular psychojargon.

The Media Establishment condemns V.Z. with one voice as a "fascist" (or "neofascist," it can't seem to decide which). But if we go to V.Z. himself, he stoutly denies the charge: "I am not a fascist." There is only one way to resolve this dispute: to agree on some sort of definition of what "fascist" is supposed to be. But not only is there no agreement on defining "fascist," but there is apparently no felt need for anyone to come up with any sort of definition. As we have seen with the similar damning epithet of "anti-Semite," this lack of definition is a deliberate strategy. For if one puts any definition on a dread term of opprobrium, then this will necessarily limit the scope of its application. But if you never define a smear term, then you can use the term at will against anyone you don't like or wish to whip up the mob against. Hence, the complete failure to define either "fascist" or "anti-Semite." The professional "antifascist" thereby joins his comrade-in-arms the professional "anti-anti-Semite" as twins in organized calumny.

Furthermore, one would think that if someone denies the charge, as V.Z. did when he said "I am not a fascist," that this should be presumptive, and the burden of proof that he *really* is a fascist should rest on the person making the charge. But that of course is not the way it works. How can you supply or demand proof if there is no definition whatever of this dread spectre?

In the midst of World War II, one of those subjected to a mass sedition trial was Lawrence Dennis, brilliant political analyst and isolationist who was charged with being "the leading American fascist." Dennis replied, in effect, Nonsense: I have never been a member of the Fascist Party of Italy.

Dennis's reply was interpreted as witty and smart-alecky, but it actually contained a lot of sense. For he was highlighting the absurdly loose and undefined nature of the way the term "fascist" was being slung around, and the situation has gotten worse since. It was the Soviet Union propaganda machine that decided, in the 1930s, for example, to call all their enemies in Europe (or anywhere else) "fascist": Nazis were "German fascists"; Franco and his men were "Spanish fascists," etc., as if all these nations and forces were part of the same monolith. But all that is rubbish. The fact that Germany and Italy were on the same side in the war did not make their political systems the same; still less was Japan "fascist." Mussolini, in fact, was anti-German and was very worried about Germany's union with Austria, which called into question Italy's seizure of the German-speaking South Tyrol from Austria as part of the spoils of World War I. Indeed, Italy would never have sided with Germany in the late 1930s had not Britain, led by Anthony Eden, launched a hypocritical moralistic crusade in the League of Nations against Italy's conquest of the despotic slave-state of Ethiopia. Hypocritical for condemning Italy for a small fraction of the colonial conquest that Britain itself had feasted on in the late 19th century.

Italy and Franco's Spain had little politically or socially in common with Nazi Germany. The Nazis were racialist and revolutionary, wishing to transform their nation; the Italian



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fascists and the Spanish Francoites were profoundly conservative, trying to guard their cherished institutions and traditions, such as the Catholic Church, and yes their liberties, from the onslaught of the revolutionary Left: in the case of Spain and Italy not only various wings of Marxist, but also Anarcho-Communists and Anarcho-Syndicalists, which were even bloodier and more destructive than "regular" Marxists.

Economically, it is true, all these polities were corporate statist. But if we call all cartellist and corporatist systems "fascist" we are casting a broad net indeed, for then major culprits would be Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, and whatever horror the Clintonian system will eventually be called. Indeed, the Roosevelt Brain Trust were directly inspired by the writings of Italian fascist theorist Giovanni Gentile. In fact, if we compare respective political economies, Franco, who ejected the Fascist Falange from his government soon after his victory and who moved to a free market system after World War II, was probably significantly less "fascist" (i.e. corporate statist) than the New Deal or Great Society.

The Left, of course, does not concentrate on fascism as cartellist or corporate statist. What disturbs the Left is the fact that all these European "fascist" regimes were hard Anti-Marxists, that is, were devoted to saving their countries, and Europe in general, from the menace of revolutionary egalitarian Marxism. On this interpretation, "fascism" is an epithet for "hard anti-Marxist," and of course our liberals and neocons, each in their own way still devoted to Marxism, are happy to join those further Left in this concept of "fascism."

Depending on how you define it, then, virtually everyone in the world can be dubbed a "fascist." Left-liberals are fascists because they are corporate statists; Rightists are "fascists" because they are hard anti-Marxists: and if we add the rather absurd term "Red Fascists" applied to Communists by the Mensheviks at the start of the Cold War, we can then include everyone in the world under the "fascist" rubric. Let us then stipulate that everyone in the world, for one reason or another, is and always will be a "fascist," and then let's *forget the whole thing*.

To return at last to V. Zhirinovsky. What is supposed to be so terrible about him? As a Russian nationalist, he yearns to return Russia to its mighty imperial borders of pre-1914. Unfortunate; but what *else* would you expect a Russian patriot to say? But so far, he wants to induce Ukraine, Belarus, etc. to return to the arms of Mother Russia by eliminating foreign aid to these new countries, e.g., by no longer selling them oil at a subsidized, below-market price. Well, what's wrong with *that*? V.Z. maintains that he is "not an anti-Semite," but he would like to see the news reporters and analysts on Moscow television have "kind Russian faces" and speak in "unaccented Russian." Well, what's so terrible about *that* desire? The major problem with Russian TV is that it continues as a state monopoly; and so long as it remains a government monopoly, the majority Russians are going to want to see and listen to Russians on TV. The charge that V.Z. is "anti-Semitic" promptly ran into a credibility problem when it was disclosed that his late father was Jewish, and the anti-anti-Semitic hysteria against V.Z. has moderated a bit since then.

As a Russian nationalist, V.Z. on foreign affairs takes a keen cold look at U.S. imperialism. Opposed to the Gulf War, V.Z. visited Saddam Hussein during the war. He is also opposed to Zionism. As V.Z. told an interviewer in 1992, "We're against antisemitism. But we also don't want Zioinism. We want a Russian nationalist government." But of course if, like the ultra-Zionists, one *defines* anti-Zionism as being anti-Semitic, we are back in the "anti-Semitic" smear box.

Actually, perhaps the most charming summation of V.Z.'s world-outlook was contained in one of the bitter articles in the *New York Times* by Serge Schmemann (Dec. 14):

"One [Russian] paper called it 'autocratic populism.' He was the little man bashing the big guys. He played to deep-seated resentments of the Communists who had enslaved Russians, of the 'democrats' who had impoverished them, of the American who were exploiting them, of the Georgians who were robbing them."

Well, why *shouldn't* Russians "resent" their oppressors, and wish to get rid of their rule? And V.Z., incidentally, *really* wants



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to crack down on rampant street crime, and with swift justice.

Schmemann also quotes an eloquent passage from V.Z.'s campaign book: "How do I see Russia? I do not see Russia weeping, I see Russia proud, Russia in which the proud traditions of her army will be again realized, where again talented Russian engineers and businessmen will create the latest technology." How can any friend of nationalism fail to be moved?

Of course, the unfortunate side of nationalism and patriotism is that it sometimes ignores other nationalisms, and shades over into imperialism. During the nineteenth century, the Age of Imperialism, the worst offenders were Great Britain, followed by imperial Russia. The British Empire, which the Brits were forced to abandon after World War II, has of course, always enjoyed a worshipful reception in the U.S. Establishment press. As a foe of all imperialisms. I was delighted in the wake of the collapse of the imperial Soviet Union, that Russia was forced to disgorge many of its subject nationalities from its old Tsarist imperium. I hope that the former USSR nations: Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltics, etc. will band together and manage to fend off any attempt by Russia to re-impose its Empire. But the crucial point for Americans is that all this is *none of our blankety-blank business*. Imperial Russia, even if it reestablished its pre-1917 borders, constitutes no conceivable threat to the United States. Our foreign policy should be the traditional one of neutrality in all foreign quarrels, Peace and Friendship with all nations, and Don't Tread on Me. Period. Our attitude toward the new nationalities, accordingly, should be God Bless You and So Long. And let's keep a sharp eye out for emigre and other special interest groups who wish, for ethnic agendas of their own, to suck us into quarrels that are none of our affair.

**Let's keep a sharp eye out for special interest groups who wish to suck us into quarrels that are none of our affair.**

But what, you might say, about Zhirinovsky's demand that the U.S. return Alaska? Well, folks, let's not lose our heads. We bought it fair and square? But for a long time, the purchase of that frozen tundra was known as "Seward's Folly." Let's negotiate with V.Z., if it should come to that. How about this for a compromise: We free Alaska, give it its independence from U.S. imperialism, and maintain it as a peaceful, demilitarized buffer state between the U.S. and Russia, which, across the Bering Straits, is now only about ten miles from home? But, by God, we'll fight to the last Californian if V.Z. should insist on getting all of northern California down to the southernmost point of Russian settlement, at Fort Ross or the Russian (!) River.

On the other hand, though, I have to admit there is a certain charm in the idea of forcing our ruling elite out of the Bohemian Grove to make way for the Russians, or in subjecting the wealthy New Age leftists of Marin County to a bit of old-fashioned Russian discipline! Hey, V.Z., let's negotiate.... ■

## The Virginia Senate Race: North vs. Miller

**by M.N.R.**

One of the most interesting Senate races coming up in 1994 is in Virginia, where incumbent Senator Chuck Robb (Dem.) has been engaged for years in a mutually destructive death-struggle with his Democrat rival, outgoing Governor Doug Wilder. Wilder, who is out to destroy Robb, is going to run against him in the Democrat primary, and if he loses, promises to run as an independent in November.

All this makes the Republican nomination particularly desirable, all the more because of conservative George Allen's triumphant victory for the governorship in November 1993. Two leading candidates for the Republican slot are none other than the famous Lt. Colonel Oliver North (ret.), and free-market economist and Reaganite



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chairman of the FTC and head of OMB, James Miller.

The Left-Libertarian view of the split between North and Miller might go something like this: the two embody different aspects of the Reaganite movement: Ollie North the pro-war, "intolerant" Christian Right; Miller, the free-market, libertarian wing of Reaganism. Since he left the Reagan Administration, Miller has been head of the free-market D.C. thinktank, Citizens for a Sound Economy.

While this would be a superficially plausible view of the North-Miller split, it would be dead wrong. Apart from the fact that Iran-Contra and the Cold war itself are now only antiquarian issues, Miller's "free-market" credentials are questionable. Miller's free-market thinktank is moderate, and Kochtopusian: moreover, on the crucial free-market issue of our time, Jim Miller favored NAFTA, whereas Ollie North opposed it. Furthermore, the following Establishment-conservative Cold Warriors have lined up in favor, not of North but of Jim Miller: former Secretaries of State George Shultz and Alexander Haig; Secretaries of Defense Casper Weinberger and Frank Carlucci; former Attorney-General Ed Meese; Reaganite political director Lyn Nofziger; and last but not least, the sinister neocon foreign policy leader and Podhoretz-son-in-law Elliott Abrams.

In short: Jim Miller is the candidate of the dominant Establishment wing of Reaganism, of the malignant Trilateralist-neocon coalition that dominated the Republican politics of the 1980's. Ollie North is the candidate of the people—of the populist wing of the conservative movement. The battle between North and Miller will be a continuation of the struggle. The battle between the Establishment Dole-Kemp-Gingrich Republicans and the Buchananites-Perotvians over NAFTA.

**Jim Miller is the candidate of the malignant Trilateralist-neocon coalition.**

As became evident in the Iran-Contra hearings, Ollie North is clearly beloved by the people. This support has been reflected in the enormously successful grassroots fundraising that North has accomplished in the last several years. After the hearings in the summer of 1987, North established the North Legal Defense and Family Safety Trust the following spring to raise legal fees and funds for his personal protection. By the time the defense fund ceased money-raising in late 1992, it had raised the phenomenal sum, mainly through direct-mail, of over thirteen million dollars. In the meanwhile, in the spring of 1990, Ollie took over a dormant charitable organization called the Interamerican partnership, and renamed it the Freedom Alliance, to promote American liberties. In the years since, the Freedom Alliance has raised nearly nine million dollars. North takes only a modest salary as president of the Freedom alliance; almost all the annual funding (about 93 percent) gets plowed back into promoting North's speeches and other public relations activities. But most of North's income in the last few years has come from the sales of his book, *Under Fire*, which sold a total of 625,000 copies in hardback and paperback editions, and from lecture fees, which run as high as twenty-five thousand dollars a pop. Perhaps more important, North has been using these formidable resources to speak at very Republican political meetings, high and low, in the state of Virginia for the past two years.

One of North's effective points in his stump speeches is to quote the advice of a Texas police chaplain, after North has spoken of the importance of prayer; "Son, if you're going to pray for our President, you ought to use a Bible verse...Psalm 109, verse 8....look it up." And then Ollie cites the verse: "May his days be few and may another take his office." Amen! Yes, I think the North vs. Miller battle will be an instructive test of the strength of Establishment centrism vs. right-wing populism in the ranks of the Republican masses. And I have no doubt who is going to win.

[For fascinating facts about



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North and his campaign, see the article, even though critical, by Jeffrey Toobin, "Ollie's Next Mission," *New Yorker*, Dec. 27.] ■

## Kristol On Buchanan: What Goes On Here?

### by M.N.R.

I never said Irving Kristol wasn't smart. Unlike the second generation of neocons, who are mainly dolts jumped up to fame and fortune by the support of their elders, the first generation at the famed City College of NY alcove (Kristol, Bell, Howe, Lipset, et al.) were shrewd political analysts and polemicists trained in Trotskyite cadre tactics. Since the 1992 election, the Kristols, pere et fils (Irving and William) have not been at their most cogent. Trying to be Godfathers, senior and junior, and therefore the overall bosses of the Conservative Movement, the Kristols at least have to pretend to be "cultural conservatives," and are not able to simply take a narrow Kempian line of marginal tax cuts on the upper brackets and the heck with the culture. And clearly the culture front is now a major sore spot and focus of the conservative masses. The objective of the Kristols is to try, gently, to shut the conservatives up on the cultural front. And so they have been pushing two contradictory lines: (1) the culture war has been irretrievably lost, so please stop talking about taking back the culture; and (2) we're destined to win and win big soon, on the culture front, so let's sit back and wait for it to happen, like the crumbling of the Berlin Wall (bringing in a phony anti-Communist point.) Seemingly totally contradictory, the real point is the common conclusion: urging the right to shut up about culture.

All of a sudden, out of this murk, Irving has written a shrewdly perceptive article on the true lessons of the struggle over NAFTA. (*Wall St. Journal*, Nov. 24). He says: "Forget Ross Perot. Think Pat Buchanan." Perot, Kristol goes on, is transient, a washout, because even though his movement is energetic and taps a large body of frustrations, Perot himself is arrogant, muddled, and self-destructive. Perot the man is a loser and will fade away.

Buchanan, on the other hand, writes Kristol, is, in contrast, "a man of considerable intelligence" and capable of "effective demagoguery." Pat can offer the populist constituency he could inherit from Perot "a seductive, sharply defined agenda, and he can articulate this agenda with force and passion." Not only that, but Pat has a "real" political vision, a distinctive vision, neither liberal nor conservative but "powerfully reactionary." Yes! That's it! Conventional wisdom, Kristol adds, says that a reactionary vision is hopelessly utopian and need not be taken seriously. But Kristol retorts that even if Buchanan couldn't get an electoral majority and win the presidency in '96, he could be "strong enough to wreck the GOP and change the nation's political landscape."

Pat's 'vision,' Kristol sums up as economic protectionism, America First foreign policy, radically restricting immigration, and getting "ruthless-and not just 'tougher'" on crime and welfare. In short, to restore the "old Republic," the republic where "the streets were relatively free of crime and not many 16-year-old girls were having illegitimate babies." The establishment, says Kristol, commonly reacts by saying that Pat "goes too far" and therefore will have no impact. But the old Trotskyite understands populist appeals to the masses: "speak to the taxi driver on your next trip and you will discover that —regardless of race, age or sex—he (or she) thinks there's a lot to be said for going too far." Buchanan's vision, Kristol adds, comes to a lot of Americans "as a breath of fresh air after all the mostly empty and ineffectual chatter we have heard in recent years about 'change' and 'reform.'"

Kristol then puts on his political analyst's cap and shows how Pat could go about changing the face of American politics. If he ran again in the Republican primary, Kristol states he will just get wiped out again. No: a more clever route would be to run as the candidate of a third party, running as many candidates as possible throughout the country. A Buchanan race on a Perotvian populist third party ticket would undoubtedly not win in 1996, but he could easily get 15 to 20 percent of the vote, and the Buchanan party could elect some candidates to a number of offices



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across the country, and perhaps even a handful could get elected to Congress. In that case, Kristol points out correctly, Buchanan "will have won. A new party will have been born, challenging the Republican Party for its portion of the political spectrum."

Moreover, Kristol goes on to discuss the inherent weakness of the "moderate" Republicans who run the party establishment. Lacking any principles or ideology, caring only about winning the next election, scorning "the vision thing," the Republican Establishment is incapable of either understanding the Buchanan challenge or meeting it with its own ideological alternative. As a result, the moderate Republicans have been slowly but surely losing their grip on the right-wing masses—in the same way that the John Major Tories in England, Helmut Kohl in Germany, and particularly the Progressive Conservatives in Canada have inexorably lost popular support. And, as Kristol notes, in Canada—which also has, like the U.S., a single district winner-take-all legislature, the ruling Conservative Party was literally wiped out in the 1993 elections (as was also the socialist New Democratic Party), to be replaced as the major opposition to the Liberals by the new paleoconservative Reform Party of Western Canada and the secessionist French *Bloc Quebecois* in Quebec. [The Reform Party, by the way, is an inspiring phenomenon: coming out of nowhere on a platform of lower taxes, *lower* government spending, and restricting immigration].

Kristol ends his article by saying the Republican establishment is doomed, in the long run, in the absence of a vision that can rally the mass of Americans.

One important point that Kristol misses is precisely *how* Pat could "inherit" the Perotvian mantle. One reason why Libertarian Buchananites are very leery of a third party is that we have had long and bitter experience in the drain of resources involved in the arduous process of getting on the ballot in the separate states. But of course Perot had no difficulty whatever

## Quotes That Need No Comment

Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary said Friday that the Administration was worried about the adverse effects of cheap oil. . . .—*Los Angeles Times*

Conservatives believe that communities are very important and are eager to preserve them. That is one reason they opposed busing in the '60s and '70s. Vouchers, too, would tend to break up neighborhoods and communities by moving youngsters out of their local schools into many different schools in different localities. . . . Conservatives are happy that private schools are largely unregulated, and many send their kids to these schools. While they were tempted by the idea of a $2,600 voucher, they also knew that taking government money inevitably leads to goverment controls. . . . In the conservative view, any program is likely to have unintended consequences, and new programs must first be tried on a small scale. So conservatives looking at the California voucher initiative were not about to be guilty of the same hubris as the liberals. They were not about to enshrine a voucher system in the state constitution. . .without knowledge of the unanticipated consequences.—Albert Shanker, *New York Times*

I was trying to get tenure. I was an untenured associate professor when I wrote them, trying to make the transition from litigator to provocative scholar.—Lani Guinier, on her controversial articles, *Los Angeles Times*

Bob Woolf, the pioneering Boston-based sports lawyer, . . .died on Monday night at a home he maintained in Hallandale, Fla. He was 65. "He was watching 'Monday Night Football' and he just didn't wake up," his daughter Stacey Woolf-Feinberg said yesterday. "He was in the peak of health and had been playing tons of tennis."—*New York Times*

What we are doing is replacing the inept, wasteful and ineffective bureaucracy, if you will, of the unfettered marketplace.—Judith Feder, Deputy Assistant Secretary of HHS, on the Clinton health alliance plan, *New York Times*

College women are victimized by these groups of men all the time, and sometimes they don't even realize it. That's why I don't think schools should allow men to live in segregated units; they should have to live with women as equals.—Chris O'Sullivan, social psychologist. Knight-Ridder Newspapers

Many gay men here [in San Fransisco]. . .unwilling to face a measure of sexual deprivation and eager for the attention showered on the sick and the dying, are again practicing unprotected anal intercourse. . . . With homosexual identity and AIDS so intertwined, particularly in gay enclaves like the Castro, some men said they were attracted to the idea of getting sick because it would deepen their sense of belonging. . . . Some who are uninfected look at those who are sick and see their lives transformed with new meaning. . .one young man described his admiration for a friend in such circumstances. "He's got so much more focus now," the man said. "It almost in my mind makes it like a good thing that he has it. And I find myself wanting it."—*New York Times*



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in getting on the ballot, since he was willing to invest many millions in the process. The Kristol scenario could only work if Perot and the Perotvian movement gave their full backing to Pat, monetarily and in grassroots activity. A combination of Perot, Perotvians, and the wholehearted backing of the conservative masses could prove formidable indeed. (I know I have warned in *RRR* of the lessons of the flop of the Marlin defeat in New York City, but this could be considered a special situation where everyone concerned with saving New York as a city was anxious above all to get the disastrous Dinkins out of office.) But for this strategy to work, Perot and Pat would have to work closely together, and it is hard to envision Perot playing second fiddle to anyone. However, it is certainly true that Perot has been getting more conservative economically, and is increasingly anti-Clinton, and that bodes well for the potential alliance.

The most remarkable thing about the Kristol article, however, is a mystery. It calls to mind the famous remark of Sherlock Holmes in *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, which roughly went: "The most remarkable thing about that night, Watson, is the dog that didn't bark."

**Where is the special neocon twist in this article, which we have come to know and love?**

Why didn't the dog bark? In other words, where is the special neocon twist in this article which we have come to know and love so well? Why doesn't Kristol conclude, in the standard neocon manner, by warning everyone of the menace of Pat Buchanan, this Nazi, anti-Semite, fascist, Francoite, Klansman, bigot, and of German ancestry? Where are the smears and the hysterical cries of "Hitler?" How come the article is so darned, well *friendly*—ranging from value-free analysis to downright appreciative? The worst thing he says about Pat is his "effective demagoguery," which, in neocon parlance, is almost a compliment. What's going on here? Surely, the Godfather is up to something sneaky. Is he trying to coopt Pat? Offering him a job in the (Kemp, Bennett, Cheney, Quayle—choose one) Cabinet?

It will be fascinating to see how this plays out. But Pat, remember the old motto: Never trust a Kristol bearing gifts. ■

## Impeach Boo-Boo!

### by M.M.R.

Every UN Secretary-General has been a dictator and a pain-in-the-neck, the active embodiment of at least the potential role of World Emperor. But Boutros-Boutros Ghali (known to UN watchers as "Boo Boo") is by far the worst of the lot. He has been the single most active Sec-Gen, continually pushing for UN troops, "peacekeeping," stopping "aggression," and in general throwing his weight around in the world arena.

It is good to see that Boo-Boo is now in a peck of trouble, even within the arrogant, highly-paid, immune-from-laws, and income tax-exempt "international community" that infests the East Side, more specifically the "Turtle Bay" area, of Manhattan.

The flap arose over what can be called the "downside" of "privatization": crookery, actual or potential, in government's granting contracts to private firms. The bone of contention is the highly lucrative private contracts for air transport of the UN troops and their entourage for all the literally dozens of "peacekeeping" operations around the globe. It seems that the United States' favorite air transport firm, Evergreen Helicopters, which has had long-time connections to the CIA, was getting outbid for contracts, especially by its Canadian competitor, SkyLink. And so Evergreen, aided by "friends" in the U.S. Mission to the UN, concocted charges that the eight members of the UN procurement office, in charge of the contracts, had engaged in hanky-panky with SkyLink to grant contracts to the Canadian firm.

With suspicious eagerness,



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Boo-Boo's close friend and new appointee as Assistant Secretary General for Inspection and Investigations, one Mohammed Niazi, suspended the eight UN officials (now known as "The Turtle Bay Eight"), and launched a multi-million dollar investigation. The Turtle Bay Eight have been suspended for four months, and not once have any of them been charged with a specific offense. Finally, the UN's own Joint Appeals Board has denounced the Niazi probe, and urged the immediate reinstatement of the Turtle Bay Eight. Also in hot water is Under Secretary General Melissa Wells, who strongly backed Niazi, and was heavily involved in this witchhunt. Since two of the eight are Canadians, the Canadian Ambassador to the UN has launched a protest against the Niazi investigation.

Unfortunately, the Secretary General is indeed a dictator, and he is not obliged to follow the Appeals Board recommendation. For the Niazi case and for other reasons, many diplomats and governments are searching for a way to replace Boo-Boo in the middle of the term. Unfortunately, and not surprisingly, there are no legal means to impeach a Secretary General before the end of his term. But so what? Let's be creative; Let's not be bound by legal niceties. Why not demand that Boo-Boo be impeached forthwith; otherwise, the U.S. withdraws from the misbegotten United Nations? Impeach Boo-Boo; and if Clinton won't go along with the idea, impeach him too!

[For more on this neglected case, see Ian Williams, "Turtle Bay Eight Vindicated: Is Boo Boo in Trouble?" *The New York Observer*, Nov. 15.] ■

# Mary Cummins Vindicated!

## by M.N.R.

The Education Heroine of the Year was, of course, the feisty, courageous Mary Cummins, an instinctive grass-roots paleocon. A long-time member of the New York City School Board, Mary single-handedly defeated the attempt of leftist School Chancellor Joe Fernandez to push through a compulsory pro-homosexual "educational" Rainbow program in the elementary grades, and then followed with the remarkable feat of ousting the Chancellor, a man who had been lionized by the *New York Times* and by Manhattan liberalism. In her very person, Mary Cummins embodies what New York liberals especially detest: for she is an Irish Catholic housewife and grandma from the despised, unfashionable, blue-collar, conservative, "outer borough" of Queens, a place long derided by the white-wine-and-brie set as "Archie Bunker country."

Left-liberals thirsted for revenge, and, finally on December 1, they struck. On that day, leftist Louisa Chan, a newly elected member of the School Board, told the tabloid *Daily News* that, at a heated board meeting a month earlier, Mary Cummins had called La Chan by the dread epithet "chink eyes." Moreover, Ms. Chan claimed to the *News* that two other board members had heard this terrible slur and would back her up.

Now, Ray Kerrison, in the competing tabloid *New York Post*, reports the complete vindication of Mary Cummins. (December 20). Mary vigorously denied committing the slur, and reports that she was "devastated" when she read the charge in the *News*. Another board meeting in mid-December was held to thrash out this vital issue. The two board "witnesses" turned tail; one of them said he was misquoted by the *News*, and recanted the testimony; while the other simply reported that La Chan *had told* her about the slur, but she had not heard it herself. So much for the smear of Mary Cummins.

After this complete and public vindication at the board meeting, the candid Mary Cummins turned to La Chan, and said emphatically: "I believe you are a wicked woman. I repeat it, I believe you are a wicked, evil woman. You made this up out of whole cloth because you favored Joe Fernandez and the 'Rainbow' curriculum."

It turns out, furthermore, that, at the original board meeting, Mary Cummins had indeed denounced La Chan, but not for her race. She told Chan: "You don't have a brain in your head." Stupidity transcends race and religion.

Fernandez was succeeded as Chancellor by Ramon Cortines, a moderate and an open gay



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who was backed by Cummins and the other two conservatives on the Board. Asked what she thinks of Cortines, Mary Cummins reports that she has "an open mind on him until I see what he does about sex education." She says that she told Cortines frankly: "I don't care what your sexual orientation is. I don't give a damn. I draw a strict line of demarcation between homosexuals who mind their own business and gay activists who proselytize. No one should try to force [the homosexual agenda]...on any of our children. No one has the right to do that.... Parents have rights." Attagirl, Mary!

There is more involved here than the vindication of Mary Cummins and the refutation of the smear. For this battle reflects the titanic struggle of the two tabloids, the *Post* and *News*, to survive in the shrinking New York newspaper market. (A third tabloid, *Newsday*, is Long Island oriented, and is mainly read in the Long Island boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens.) In the old days, the Post was the quintessence of left-liberal, owned by Kuhn, Loeb heiress Dorothy Schiff, and catered mainly to a Jewish readership. The *News*, on the other hand, was blue-collar, feisty, conservative, and isolationist. Them days is long gone, however, and chaos has reigned, with reporters and columnist jumping back and forth, and with the *Post* barely surviving a long and bitter newspaper strike. Right now, the rival papers are owned by two feisty media tycoons. The *News*, headed by Mort Zuckerman, can best be described as left-neocon sliding over to liberal; whereas the *Post*, owned by the flamboyant Australian Rupert Murdoch, is definitely conservative. Editorial page editor of the *Post* is the neocon Eric Breindel, but paleos were assuaged by the columns of Pat Buchanan and of the dynamic conservative reporter, the Australian Ray Kerrison, the scourge of New York liberalism. For a couple of months after Murdoch resumed ownership of the *Post* after the strike, it seemed that Kerrison had been fired, and New York conservatives mourned his loss. But Kerrison is back, and, as can be seen from the Cummins piece, is as hard-hitting as ever. Great!

**Space forbids going into the intricate details of Whitewater here. Let's stick to sex.**

And by the way, Ms. Chan, for your information the word is not "chink eyes." It's "Chinkess." Got that straight? ■

*An American Spy in Washington*

## Courtiers All

### by Joseph Sobran

Just before Christmas, two big scandals hit the White House. First, *The American Spectator* ran a long piece by David Brock (author of *The Real Anita Hill*) accusing both Clintons of adultery. That Hillary was also accused was barely noticed, but her liaison with Vincent Foster, the White House aide who killed himself last summer, may turn out to be more consequential than Bill's parkinglot amours, because: Second, Foster may have held the key to the Whitewater dealings in which the Clintons may have bent the law to save themselves money in a soured ivestment scheme, the cost of which was borne by taxpayers.

Unfortunately, space forbids going into the intricate details of Whitewater here. Let's stick to sex.

Brock took a lot of heat from others in the press for his story. Sidney Blumenthal of *The New Yorker* sniffed that this wasn't "real" journalism. (He also denied there was anything in the Whitewater business, because Bill Clinton is indifferent to material gain. This isn't the Eighties, you know.) Andrew Sullivan of *The New Republic* charged that *The American Specator* had lost its "credibility," which was funny in several ways; Sullivan's colleague Michael Kinsley, in his column, spat sissy juice all over Brock and the troopers. *The New York Times* tried hard to ignore the story, as did CBS. A strong rumor said that the *Los Angeles Times* had gotten the story first, but sat on it when its Wash-



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ington bureau chief, Jack Nelson threw a tantrum; Nelson later denied only that he'd threatened to quit if the story ran, and run it did, after Brock's piece was published.

In short, the courtier press was torn between ignoring and denouncing the Brock piece. But the denouncers inevitably won out. The ignorers couldn't very well ignore what so many of their brethren were denouncing. Shooting the messenger is nothing new but Brock was being shot by the other messengers. Their anger exposed fissures in the media, which turned out not to be quite so unanimously "adversarial" toward power as the naive had supposed: it was actually in the interest of some journalists to kill major stories.

**As Lewis Lapham says in *The Wish for Kings*, journalism has become a courtier profession.**

E.J. Dionne Jr. of the *Washington Post* wondered why Brock, so skeptical of Anita Hill, would be so credulous toward two Arkansas state troopers. It's only a guess, but maybe because there was only *one* Anita Hill (who had never behaved as if her own story was true), while there were two state troopers (backed up by others who declined to go on the record) confirming many times over what Miss Flowers had tried to tell us earlier. Or because Clarence Thomas flatly denied what he was accused of, supported by many character witnesses, while Bill Clinton stammered a clumsy non-denial, and the idea of a character witness for Bill Clinton is like the concept of an octagonal triangle. Nobody courted risibility by affirming that the Bill Clinton *they* knew would *never* have done lascivious deeds in the parking lot of his daughter's elementary school. The troopers' story rang true, right down to the part where Clinton was quoted as saying that he'd studied the Bible, and one non-coital act wasn't considered adultery: this had the very ring of "I didn't inhale." (Some wags immediately began referring to that act as "unadultery.")

Clinton himself seemed to know in advance what the troopers were likely to say to the press. He admitted having called them, but denied having tried to buy them off with job offers. All of which suggests that he was not expecting them to invent yarns, but to discuss certain vivid shared memories.

Oddly enough, none of the pro-Clinton journalists who spurned the troopers seems to want to cross-examine the witnesses. They knew this president was a sexual Nixon, and the troopers' story would not only hold up, but might, under inspection, generate even more damning detail. Better to belittle it and change the subject.

The two troopers may not have received job offers, but it's not clear that the press didn't. Clinton has already hired two journalists to important positions: David Gergen and Strobe Talbott. It would be unduly innocent to assume that this has had no effect on the rest of the Washington press corps: Dionne's columns, for example, read like job applications. Eleanor Clift of *Newsweek* is journalism's answer to Gennifer Flowers. It would be interesting to make a list of the journalists most likely to take positions in the Clinton Administration.

Gergen's case was especially illuminating. Many journalists thought it was surprising that a Republican should go to work for a Democrat. Nobody thought it was surprising that a journalist should go to work for a politician. That's normal. In fact, Gergen's chief qualification as a journalist was that he had worked for two earlier administrations. As Lewis Lapham says in his book *The Wish for Kings*, journalism has become a courtier profession. Its practitioners love the heights, and they can even aspire to wealth, celebrity, and power themselves. Clinton understands this, and his attentions to their ambitions helped produce a protective press corps when he needed it most.

An editor I used to work for once spiked an editorial of mine because it was too critical of Nancy Reagan. It was no great loss to me or to world literature, but his reason was telling: if we ran the thing, we would "lose our access to the White House," Translation: he would lose his



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social invitations from the Reagans.

Clinton's critics aren't necessarily immune to temptations from those in power; sometimes the reason they are critics is that they haven't even had a nibble. I don't know Brock, but R. Emmett (Bob) Tyrrell, founder and publisher of *The American Spectator*, is comically susceptible to flattery. His magazine was staunchly uncritical of Reagan and Bush, both of whom invited Bob to the White House; once Reagan even came to dinner at Bob's home, an event that serves as the historic climax of Bob's book *The Conservative Crackup*. Little noticed by the media, the book shattered all records for name-dropping, and the scene of Reagan's visit (Bob calls it "the president's dinner," as if Reagan went hungry most nights) is one of a kind. The presidential motorcade, complete with limosines, motorcycles, helicopters, and Secret Service commandos, invaded the neighborhood, no doubt aweing the neighbors. Unfortunately, Bob wasn't getting on with his then-wife, and spent the entire evening in terror that she would make a scene and embarrass him before the president of these United States. She didn't and all went well, but Bob couldn't enjoy it until it was over. Nevertheless, he is a Reaganite unto death. And all because Reagan was nice to Bob.

On the other hand, Dan Quayle once inadvertently slighted the *Spectator* in an interview, mentioning it in passing only to say that he couldn't get through it (not an uncommon reaction; Bob himself is said not to read it consistently). Bob went orbital. The next issue of the magazine ran a huge, all-out assault on "Danny Boy," with relentless puerility and petulance: clumsy caricature, heavy sarcasm, bitter mockery. And all because Bob felt personally slighted.

After the Brock piece appeared, Bob was in his glory, doing interviews with big newspapers, playing the great iconoclast. It was a case of self-delusions being accidentally fulfilled, as if a man who'd thought he was Napoleon had been mistaken for Napoleon. The funniest part was that if only Clinton had invited him to the White House once or twice—no, once would do—Bob would surely have killed the Brock piece.

The Clinton presidency is one of the most mammoth political productions of all time. It would be ironic if it came crashing down because it had forgotten to budget for lunch with Bob Tyrrell. ■

# The Dangers of Vouchers

## by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

If conservative Republicans continue to push "school choice" and vouchers, they will alienate their middle-class base, as the California debacle of Proposition 174 showed. The initiative was widely and rightly seen as an expensive redistributionist welfare program which threatened the autonomy of both private schools and suburban public schools. In fact, the voucher debate is similar to the busing debate of the 1970s, pitting settled community schools against central authorities with imperialistic and egalitarian designs. By making these designs their domestic priority, Republicans will forgo the chance to be the majority party.

The U.S. public education system has been in trouble for years, as the steady stream of students into private schools illustrates. But far from fixing what's wrong with public schools, tax-funded vouchers for private schools, and "choice" among public schools, will make things much worse. Vouchers bring private schools under strict government supervision, and "choice" subtly but effectively erases the lines between school districts. Both guarantee more government spending.

Vouchers and "choice" represent the worst kind of liberal program: something-for-nothing and a heavy dose of planned demographic upheaval. They tax middle Americans, and ruin their institutions, to finance more social engineering. When Californians figured this out, they pushed Prop. 174 over the edge of the San Andreas Fault by a margin of more than 70%.

"Choice" deliberately weakens school-district lines, and local funding, in an attempt to increase "competition." Yet suburbanites like their school districts. They serve as a partial insulation against central government officials intent on controlling communities. School districts are part of the network of intermediating



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structures, praised by Robert Nisbet and Charles Murray, that serve as buffers between families and the state.

In most of America, district lines are strictly enforced, much the way property lines used to be. District lines help determine where families live. Property values in homes and land, as any real estate agent can testify, are affected by school-district boundaries. Does the district have decent schools, smart kids, and lots of parental involvement? Or are its schools characterized by crime, drugs, and low achievement? Parents would be irresponsible not to ask this question, and to make their decisions based on it.

Good parents are deeply involved in their children's education, in the PTA, the band boosters, the chess club, the tennis team. They know the teachers and the teachers know them. They put their own money and time into all sorts of extracurricular activities. Students wear their mascot with pride and sing the school song. They cheer for their team and boo the school across town. It is a natural and healthy micro-patriotism.

In the 1960s and 1970s, liberals scoffed at such middle-class activities and sentiments. They argued that school districts were conspiracies of the well-to-do to separate themselves from the social pathologies of the poor. Based on liberal hatred of self-contained, middle-class communities, meddling judges mandated busing, and in general waged war on the natural tendency of people to want to live among their own socioeconomic group.

Forced busing was, of course, a disaster, and it generated a political explosion. The fallout lasted more than a decade, and it helped bring about a political revolution against the Democratic Party. It was one of those issues that conservatives had to mention only once to ride to victory.

How odd that the idea would be resurrected by conservatives, under the rubrics of free enterprise and competition. Most voters aren't fooled by the rhetoric, however. If any bill, be it busing or vouchers, threatens to weaken school-district boundaries, Americans will revolt, as they have against "choice." It's no wonder that liberals like *Washington Post* columnist David Broder mourned the failure of the voucher initiative in California, and chastised middle-class suburbanites for their supposed selfishness.

In California, all the economically illiterate talk about introducing competition into public schooling didn't work either. Suburban voters, who are mostly happy with their schools, noted that the initiative forced all schools, even those rejecting vouchers, to open their enrollment "to children regardless of residence." It was a death sentence for Prop. 174.

In an increasingly collectivist America, there are few boundaries remaining, in manners, morals, or property. Why not protect and defend those that have survived? Conservatives should be defending, not wrecking by central decree, the little platoons of civilization. Good fences, as the great conservative poet Robert Frost said, do indeed make good neighbors.

But what about competition among public schools? Rivalry in a free market works miracles. But there is are crucial difference with public schools. They are owned and run by the government. They don't operate on a profit and loss system of accounting. And they lack the incentive structure to respond efficiently to competitive pressures.

Public schools, for example, have faced intense competition from private schools for years. But the public schools have not improved. When students leave, there is little penalty imposed on the people who matter. In fact, the result of a student exodus is not market competition, but relief. As with the post office, the fewer the customers, the less the work load. Similarly, the efficiency of the post office does not improve because people can choose to go to one branch or another.

Competition works when a) firms are privately owned, and b) customers spend their own money. Public schools do not operate that way. Yet private schools do, and that accounts for their excellence. By making tuition tax funded, school vouchers would make these school less competitive than they are today.

Interestingly, the proponents of school choice are intent on destroying the truly existing competition among school districts. Today, people can vote with their feet, and their own money, for better homes, stores, recreation, and schools in other districts. No laws prevent anyone from moving anywhere.



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Faux-competition between public schools over district lines would destroy this really-existing competition.

Providing vouchers so children can attend private schools, the second half of "choice" plans, is also a terrible idea. For example, it mulcts the taxpayers by making them subsidize parents who already pay tuition out of their own pockets. California's Prop. 174, for example, was as front-loaded with costs as Hillary Clinton's health socialism. Proponents claimed it would save money in the long run, but every credible report concluded it would cost at least a billion dollars extra in the first three years.

School vouchers will also bring private schools under strict government direction. They would have to surrender control over tuition, curriculum, entrance requirements, honors programs, graduation, and discipline to the courts and bureaucracy.

In California, Prop. 174 itself increased regulation. It subjected private voucher-receiving schools to "national standards" as administered by the State Board of Education. It forbad them from "discriminating," which these days means the imposition of quotas to correct disproportionalities. It prevented schools from advocating "unlawful behavior," i.e., praying too near an abortion clinic. Most ominously, it ruled out the teaching of "hatred." Anyone who keeps up with liberal smear words knows that "hate" now means anything liberals don't like. Because "hate" based on religion would have been specifically outlawed, religious schools would be opened to court challenge for teaching distinctive doctrines (e.g. that women cannot be priests or that homosexual acts are sinful).

Even without these and other increases in regulation mandated by Prop. 174, court precedent would have forced regulations on private schools receiving vouchers. The courts have been all too clear: education is a public good, and when receiving public money, schools cannot promote sectarian purposes, and they must be regulated (see Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 1925; State v. Faith Baptist Church, 1981; Ross v. Allen, 1981; Council of Children with Special Needs v. Cooperman, 1985). In the Fall 1992 issue of the *Journal of Law & Education*, University of North Texas education law professor Frank R. Kemerer, and Texas lawyers Joe B. Hairston and Keith Lauerman, conclude after extensive study that it is a "naive hope" that private schools can avoid public controls under vouchers.

**"Anytime government money follows a child to a school there is bound to be more regulation."**

No matter what the excuse, litigation will eventually guarantee the top-down control of voucher-taking private schools. The Milwaukee Parental Choice program became subject to lawsuits just as soon as it passed. In Davis v. Grover (1992), the judge concluded that recipient schools must be regulated to secure the "public purpose" of the legislation. Even former Education Secretary and voucher advocate Lamar Alexander admits that "anytime government money follows a child to a school there is bound to be more regulation."

Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* against vouchers, Ronald L. Trowbridge of Hillsdale College pointed out that in December 1992, the Virginia State Council of Higher Education ruled that Jerry Falwell's Liberty University could receive tuition assistance only if it gutted mandatory chapel attendance and ceased discriminating on the basis of religious views. Who can be surprised? The modern state is intractably opposed to religious faith, especially when it is institutionalized in schools.

But under vouchers, the state is paying the tuition, so the state becomes the effective owner of the school, while parents and headmasters are merely clients and managers, just as in public schools today. For now, most voucher initiatives allow private schools to keep their religious identity. That won't hold up in court.

"Some to be sure, like to think they can have it both ways," voucher advocate Chester Finn said in 1982. "But most acknow-



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ledge the general applicability of the old adage that he who pays the piper calls the tune, and are more or less resigned to amalgamating or choosing between assistance and autonomy."

In every country they've been tried, vouchers have led to government control of private schools, especially religious schools. *Choice of Schools in Six Nations* by Charles Glenn, published by the pro-voucher Bush Department of Education in 1989, concludes: "For those who believe strongly in religious schooling and fear that government influence will come with public funding, reason exists for their concern. Catholic or Protestant schools in each of the nations studied have increasingly been assimilated to the assumptions and guiding values of public schooling."

With vouchers, the century and a half-old liberal dream of crushing private schools by making them "publicly accountable" will finally be accomplished. Just as every 19th-century free thinker wanted, the entire education industry will be brought under central direction and forced to promote state worship to the exclusion of religion. And this will occur at the hands of people who claim to support private schools.

But schools don't have to accept vouchers, right? Then they'll be shut out by those who do. The vast majority of parents are going to use vouchers if they have them, and they can only use them on schools that submit to government dictate. By default, if not design, the only private schools left will be under the close supervision of state and federal officials.

Since vouchers are expensive, redistributionist, regulatory, and egalitarian, and will abolish school districts and bring private schools under the government thumb, conservatives would be wise to drop their support of the idea. Vouchers and school choice are part of the agenda of the Left, and the public will not forgive conservatives who advance such an agenda, especially in disguised fashion. In particular, conservatives should stop funding initiatives, lobbyists, and lawsuits alleging a "constitutional right to a good education" for inner-city residents. That's what the

## More Quotes That Need No Comment

Norrie Epstein, a writer who used to live in Los Angeles, has watched Prozac's popularity grow on both the West Coast and the East. "In L.A. people don't just ask each other what 12-step group they're in anymore," said Ms. Epstein, who is not on Prozac. "They ask, 'What are you on?' The answer is usually Prozac."—*New York Times*

A 39-year-old mother of two from Framingham, Mass., . . . said she had sunk into depression after her husband lost his small business and the family had to move from their house into an apartment. Now, she said, friends ask her how she can be so cheerful in the face of her family's financial crisis. "I say: P-R-O-Z-A-C, honey!" she said. "They say, 'Keep it up!'"—*New York Times*

Some researchers observe with concern that the drift toward extended drug regimens is occurring in parallel with another trend: prescribing antidepressants for people who are not really depressed. Prozac is now given with some regularity to patients diagnosed as "dysthymic," jargon for perpetually crabby, under the weather, insecure, malcontent.—*New York Times*

The latest in a series of Prozac cartoons in the New Yorker showed a beatific Karl Marx, on medication, saying, "Sure! Capitalism can work out its kinks!"—*New York Times*

I will go to a war crimes tribunal when Americans are tried for Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Vietnam, Cambodia, Panama!—Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic, head of the Serbian Tigers, when asked about U.S. accusations that he committed atrocities in pursuit of a Greater Serbia, *Los Angeles Times*

"RUSSIA REFORMERS PLEDGE TO COUNTER THREAT OF FASCISM"—*Los Angeles Times*

Yeltsin backers say they will even work with Communists.—*Los Angeles Times*

Openly horrified by massive voter support for a fanatical neo-fascist, Russia's top reformers . . . proclaimed their willingness to join with just about any party—even the Communists—to battle the menace from the right.—Carey Goldberg, *Los Angeles Times*

The threat of fascism is looming tall and high. [Vladimir V.] Zhirinovsky means war, blood and final death for Russia . . . The people have been deceived—deceived by populist slogans, empty promises and cheap acting.—Sergei A. Kovalev, "human rights crusader" and a leader of Yeltsin's Russia Choice party.

The world is facing the global threat of Russian imperialism.—Bogdan Goryn, deputy chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Ukraine Parliament



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Left does; conservatives are supposed to be rallying the public against such schemes.

What about privately funded "choice" scholarship programs, now being touted in Atlanta, Indianapolis, and the *Wall Street Journal*? They might not seem to be our concern, since they do not involve public policy. But on the other hand, neither should they be a halfway house to an eventual voucher experiment. If we do have private scholarships, and many have always existed, they should be based not on liberal victimology, but on helping those children without the money, but with the requisite character, to benefit from a good private education.

What then should conservatives do about education? Ideally, we'd replace the public school system with a private one. The market works in this area as in any other, as shown in 18th and 19th-century America. But what about interim reforms? We should advocate massive cuts in federal and state public school spending, and a concomitant lessening of federal and state control. When public schools were locally funded and locally controlled, they were at their best.

That's why we At the national level should revive Ronald Reagan's call to eliminate the Department of Education. That means repudiating William Bennett's and Lamar Alexander's expanding and entrenching of this dangerous bureaucracy. Finally, we should work for tax cuts at all levels so people can have new discretionary income. Then they could withdraw their children from public school and send them to privately funded, privately controlled schools. For those left in public schools, we should defend the integrity of district lines.

But first, conservatives should drop vouchers. For the Right, they are the kiss of death. ■

## Paying Off the Interest Groups With Interest

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

Political corruption and blackmail go together, and both have become endemic to bank regulation. The Justice Department, For example, has forced Shawmut National Corp. to pay a ransom just to conduct its business according to market principles. The dough goes to special interest groups eying depositors' money as a source of welfare funds.

**In the Shawmut settlement, the Justice Department turned economic logic on its head.**

The extortion began last month when the Federal Reserve turned down Shawmut's bid to merge with New Dartmouth Bank. Shawmut was being investigated by Janet Reno for not giving enough loans to minorities, and the Fed kowtowed to political pressure by stopping a profitable capitalist act without evidence of any wrongdoing.

In today's economy, banks merge or die. So to complete the merger, Shawmut has been forced into a bad deal with the Justice Department. To its credit, Shawmut never admitted guilt. But it was forced to pay ten to fifteen thousand dollars to any black or Hispanic customer with a gripe. The settlement also specifies that Shawmut must spend at least $960,000 on these payoffs, and the price tag could be much higher.

Unmentioned in many reports is the fact that Shawmut has also been forced to set aside another $85 million in scarce loanable funds for non-qualifying black applicants. If borrowers meet the normal criteria, there is no reason to set money aside for them.

In free markets, when a loan is more risky, the institution charges higher rates to compensate. Yet in the Shawmut settlement, the Justice Department turned economic logic on its head. It has ordered that the set-aside money be lent at below-market rates. Thus Shawmut must not only make unwise loans with depositors' money; it must subsidize them as well. Undoubtedly, any needed collection and foreclosure efforts will also be stymied.

For years, our society has been wrecked, and standards of merit subverted, by quotas in



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college admissions and employment. Regulators are extending this evil principle to the banking industry, and Shawmut is only the most recent example. All over the country, banks are being held up by special interest groups, at a high cost to their balance sheets and the soundness of the American financial system.

Last year, the government made a similar settlement with Georgia's Decatur Federal Savings & Loan. The deal came several years after a shoddy "study" by liberal reporter Bill Dedman of the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, who named Decatur among several other "discriminators." Other banks gave in to activist pressure, while Decatur stuck to banking. In return, the Justice Department turned the screws.

Like Dedman, the new government policy suggests that banks are discriminating against blacks. But there is *no* evidence to support this contention, despite what the economically ignorant claim.

But don't these studies show statistical disparities in lending? Of course, but that proves nothing about intent, or else whites could complain that they are discriminated against because they get fewer loans than Asians.

Loan patterns reflect the facts about median assets. Whites have 15 times the average assets of blacks. And your amount of assets is an effective proxy for your creditworthiness, since it shows your ability to put off current gratification for future benefit. Yet bankers are supposed to ignore these hard realities.

As usual, the Clinton administration wants to make things worse. Its newly proposed regulations stop just short of explicit quotas, but implicitly they are there. If loans in metropolitan areas are not equally distributed geographically, regulators can impose binding orders and fines. No matter what the financial facts, cities and suburbs had better get the same treatment, or else.

The economic effects of loan redistribution are no different from other giveaways. They waste scarce resources, encourage profligacy, punish achievement and responsibility, and subsidize delinquency and indolence.

Are bankers smarting at these proposed regulations? Some are, some are not. Leo Mullin of the Banker's Roundtable called the new orders "a positive and promising step." His roundtable consists of the ranking officials of the largest 125 banks.

Smaller bankers, hit hardest by these changes, don't count. As happens in other industries, larger banks are using government regulations to impose costs on their smaller competitors, to consolidate an industry run by the Bankers Roundtable.

If small bankers weren't gagged, they'd point out that lending is a very individualized process. Groups don't pay or default on loans; only individuals do. For this reason, the lending process cannot be reconciled with group-based privileges.

But if people are told again and again that their troubles are caused by a conspiracy of another race, the result can be tragic, as on the Long Island Railroad. It is dangerous in every sense to make bankers the scapegoats for the shortcomings of others. ■

## Gatt and World Government

### by L.H.R., Jr.

It's no wonder that U.S. Trade Rep. Mickey Kantor and company were partying at the end of the Gatt negotiations. He and his friends had agreed to construct a new international bureaucracy, the World Trade Organization, set for approval by Congress in April. The *New York Times* is hailing the WTO as the trade equivalent of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. And it is.

Four other times in this century (1918, 1950, 1955, and 1974), the American people rejected an international trade bureaucracy, to the outrage of those who want every economic decision to be subject to supranational control. And even though each bureaucracy was sold as freer trade, it was defeated by the free-market Right.

The most intense battle took place over the International Trade Organization, proposed in 1945 and finally defeated in 1950. Very much like Nafta, the ITO charter imposed detailed rules for tariffs, quotas, exchange controls, government loans, intergovernmental enforcement, and "full-employment" policies. And like Kantor's new WTO,



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the real purpose was economic planning on a global scale.

So intense was public and Congressional dislike of the ITO that Truman was forced to withdraw it in 1950, long after he had agreed to sign it. All major newspapers, corporate lobbyists, and banks were for it, but the free-market forces in the House and Senate were bitterly opposed. Truman and his advisers realized that there was no way it could pass.

"Since no other governments wanted to create the trade organization without the United States," said William Diebold, Jr., economist at the Council on Foreign Relations, in his 1952 history of the ITO, "the most ambitious attempt ever made to reach agreement on a comprehensive code of rules" for international trade "ended in failure."

A good thing, too, and the man most responsible was Philip Cortney, an attorney and businessman in New York City. His magnificent book *The Economic Munich* (1949) took on the ITO and destroyed it. No surprise, Cortney was a friend and follower of free-market giants Ludwig von Mises and Henry Hazlitt.

Cortney dedicated his book to his country, "which I worship for having taught me the real meaning of liberty." And the so-called Havana Charter of the ITO, he wrote "is the product" of "economic fallacies," the "aftermath of Keynes' teachings," the work of "zealots, ignorants, clever politicians or 'do-gooders.'"

Cortney meticulously took apart the ITO charter, first noting that no real free-trade agreement would be this complex, and then showed it to be the opposite of free trade. Instead of allowing business to make its own trade deals, the ITO ran interference for large corporations while hobbling medium and small-sized ones. The economic theories it was based on "may prove to be the grave-diggers of our human liberties."

Cortney and his free-market forces called for ITO to be rejected. If we want to have truly free trade, he wrote, we should reduce barriers ourselves, let business make its own deals abroad, and reinstitute the international gold standard. Inflation has done the most damage to international economic cooperation.

**The World Trade Organization must be killed, and it is up to the free-market Right to do the job.**

Pressure from their constituents caused the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, and other business groups to join Cortney in opposition. Even John Maynard Keynes had to take notice, and denounced Cortney's writings.

Why did Cortney do it? Why did he take so much time away from his business? Because he saw the ITO as a threat to the free enterprise system and decentralized government he believed in. And he was inspired by Mises's teaching that we must fight for the free society tooth and nail. Everyone, especially the businessman, must bear the burden of defense.

As a lead up to the battle, the promoters of the ITO made apocalyptic predictions. Its defeat would be a "tragedy," wrote White House advisor (and Marshall Plan schemer) Will Clayton. Such a thing was "unthinkable." Opponents were called "isolationist," "protectionist," "backward looking," and every other epithet in an all-too-familiar litany.

The unthinkable did happen, however, and, no surprise, there was no apocalypse. Of course, we were better off. We got growing trade without international bureaucrats directing the process.

Diebold ended his treatise on the failed ITO by wondering what he and his colleagues at the Council on Foreign Relations should do after the defeat. "Can we invent new means of attaining old aims? How can we devise a policy that is not only promising but politically acceptable?"

Yes, answers Mickey Kantor more than 30 years later. But the World Trade Organization ought to be killed too. And once again, it is up to the free-market Right to do the job. ■



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# P.C. Watch

**by L.H.R., Jr.**

## How About a Spider for the "Web of Life"?

Amidst Indian chants, a song about the return of the bison, and prayers to "Mother Earth and Father Sky," Trishuwa leads the pipe ceremony. And she, and the 40 other people sitting cross-legged in a circle, are white.

"This is the final phase of genocide," said John Lavelle, a Sioux. "First, whites took the land and all that was physical. Now they're going after what is intangible." The National Congress of American Indians has "declared war" on "non-Indian 'wannabes.'" Ed McGaa, a Sioux and author of *Mother Earth Spirituality*, praises white participation in Indian religion, but Levelle calls him a "disgrace to his tribe."

Trishuwa and company are members of the Church of Gaia's Council of the Six Directions in Boulder, Col., which Stephen Buhner, a founder, calls a "blend of mysticism and ecology," which "allows you to reestablish your harmony and proper relationship with the web of life."

Buhner had a "spiritual revelation" at a 1969 Jefferson Airplane concert in San Francisco and decided to start an "earth-centered religion."

He and his wife, Trishuwa—who refuses to use a last name—live in a solar home and sponsor "vision quests and the rites of the sweat lodge" for $20 per hour per student. Critics of his church are "Indian fundamentalists," he says.

The Buhners were trained by Sun Bear, an Indian named Vince LaDuke who founded the "Medicine Bear Tribe" for whites. A former tv actor, he is known for his claim that Indian religion would help you win at craps. (David Johnston, *New York Times*, 12/27/93)

**The *New York Times* is always full of anti-Christian needles just before Christmas.**

## A Good Square Meal

In discussing the Gatt talks, Senator Ernest F. Hollings (D.-S.C.) said that "potentates from down in Africa," instead of "eating each other," came up to "get a good square meal in Geneva."

"The man is mentally sick," said William Gibson, the South Carolina dentist who is chairman of the NAACP. "As an African-American, I condemn him for making those kinds of accusations against leaders of African nations."

Hollings once also got in trouble for referring to Howard Metzenbaum (D.-Ohio) as "the senator from B'nai B'rith." (*NYT*, 12/16/93)

## The Next Frontier

*The Advocate*, a homosexual magazine, has called for formation of a gay "national religious council" to "fight monotheism." (*Washington Times*, 12/9/93)

## Gun Control

Christine Schweiger, a 35-year-old mother of three, took her 10-year-old daughter into a Popeye's Fried Chicken in Milwaukee to pick up dinner. As she headed back to her car, two boys, 15 and 16 years old, stopped her, pulled out a sawed-off shotgun, and told her to drop to her knees. When they demanded money and she said she had none, the 16-year-old blew her head off.

When the boys were arrested, they said they picked Schweiger because she was one of the few whites in the restaurant, and as such, would be much less likely to be carrying a gun than a black. (*Chicago Tribune*, 12/9/93)

## The *Times*'s Prince of Peace

The *New York Times* is always full of anti-Christian needles just before Christmas. One example: the headline on a large photo (12/20/93) read: "Thousands Honor Prince of Peace." The caption, underneath an Indian woman praying to a giant stone statue, read: "Marking one of India's most elaborate ceremonies, pilgrims gathered around" the "58-foot statue of a naked prince in Shravanabelogola, India." The "prince, Buhabali," is naked to symbolize



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"peace," a tenet of a pacifist Hindu sect.

### "Why I Believe in Drug Legalization"

Kevin Elders, the 28-year-old son of Joycelyn Elders, the condomaniacal surgeon general, was arrested by the Little Rock police for drugs. Her husband, Oliver, is suspected by the police of owning a gang-run crack house in that same city. (*NYT*, 12/19/93)

### N — — — — —

"Mothers use it to call their children," and rappers "bestow it like a title." It's "nigger," says an AP dispatch in the *Grand Rapids Press* (12/9/93). "These days,' the word "thrives among many blacks as an expression of affection and family."

"I use it" around "my homeboys," says Yale English professor Robert Steptoe. But rappers are starting to advise against it. "Public Enemy" has a song on its new album called "I Don't Wanna Be Called Yo Nigga." This hit home for rap fan Mtu Pugh, a chemical engineer at Procter & Gamble. "Using that word is like oppressing myself. White folks have done a good enough job of oppressing people. The last thing I'm going to do is help them." The rap group "Niggas Wit' Attitude" is not changing its name, however.

The most common argument against using the word is that whites will too. When Central Michigan University's white basketball coach Keith Dambrot told his 80% black team, "We need some more niggers on this team," he was fired.

Using the word is "entirely opposite what people are trying to do in perpetuating the heritage of Africa," says Vivian Buffington of New Detroit, Inc. "There ain't no niggers in Africa," adds comedian Richard Pryor.

### Racy Clothing

"A nearly all-white rural school has been rife with tension over white girls wearing baggy clothes, braids, and other so-called black fashions." The girls are accused of "acting black," and some have dropped out of North Newton Junior-Senior High in Morocco, Indiana, after being "verbally harassed" for "sporting a hip-hop look."

"This is a white community," said a 16-year-old student, Brandon Belt. "If they don't want to be white, they should leave." (*GRP*, 12/9/93)

### *New York Times* Recommends Abolition of Christmas

The anti-Christian *Times* not only wants to get rid of Christmas, it even suggests a substitute: the winter solstice (*NYT*, 12/19/93). The celebration of the "return of light after the longest night of the year"—on December 21st last year—is "just the ticket for those whose seasonal sentiment runs towards the ecological, feminist, noncommercial, and slightly pagan."

"I belong to a Christian church, but the winter solstice has more meaning to me and my family than Christmas," said Ron Basto, a former professor and real estate salesman. It's "more universal" and "inclusive."

Solstice celebrants "draw from a panoply of folk traditions." Devotees of witchcraft or "Wicca," the "ancient cult of goddesses," celebrate the solstice as "the birthday of a cosmic mother." Environmentalists "celebrate the solstice as a sort of hyper Earth Awareness Day." The Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City has had massive solstice celebrations for the last 14 years. Its "rituals celebrate the connection with the earth," and more than 3,000 attend.

"For mixed-faith families, the winter solstice can be a celestial compromise. 'I'm Jewish, my husband is Catholic, and solstice saves a lot of argument,' says Marian Acker, a San Francisco social worker."

"Donna Henes, who lives in Brooklyn and calls herself an 'urban Shaman,' leads seminars about 'earth-based' religion in public schools," where Christianity is banned. "Solstice is like a big umbrella," she says. It reminds us "that we're all a bunch of primates scared that the sun is going to disappear." The American Atheist Association endorses the holiday as well.

"I'm Christian," said computer programmer Steven Lore, "but personally, I find this music more moving than 'The Messiah,' and the spectacle sure beats those manger pageants."

"It's an evening of shivers and tingles and awe," says the *Times*. "Just like Christmas used to be."

### Signs of the Times

In American Sign Language, signs are "often a visual representation of the ugly meta-



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phors we have about people," says Professor Elissa Newport of the University of Rochester. But that is changing, reports the *New York Times* (1/3/94).

The sign for "Japanese," formerly a twist of the little finger next to the eye to indicate the epicanthic fold, "a stereotypical physical feature," is being replaced with a representation of the shape of the Japanese islands. Also on the way out are the signs for "Korean" and "Chinese," forming a K or a C next to the eye.

A new sign for "African-American" replaces "flattening the nose to indicate 'Negro'" with a representation of the shape of Africa. The old sign for "homosexual," a "swish of the wrist," is being replaced with the sign for q, for "queer," a "term formerly rejected by homosexuals but now in vogue among them.

"And one sign for 'stingy,' derived from the sign for 'Jewish' (stroking an imaginary beard), has recently stimulated discussions among deaf Jews around the country, though no new sign has actually shown up in its stead. The sign adds a clenched or tight fist to the imaginary beard."

## The Cakewalk

This is how "thousands of victims of apartheid" greeted the New Year in South Africa, according to the *NYT* (1/3/94): "They dressed themselves in bright satin suits and bow ties and cheap Panama hats. They painted their faces minstrel-style in black and white. Clutching little umbrellas," and "innocently" calling themselves "coons," they sang such songs as "Old Folks at Home."

"The Coon Carnival" is the annual New Year's "celebration of identity for Capetown's mixed-race South Africans known as 'coloreds.'" "They can't take this away," said Marawaan Giergo. "It's in us. It's in our veins." And it was copied more than 100 years ago from such visiting minstrel shows as the "Mississippi Darkies."

## Make Mine Bandicide

The Clearwater, Florida, rock band "Deicide," announces a press release from Roadrunner Records, "embraces the same Satanic ideology as their death metal peers, but Deicide (which means the 'killing of god'), takes it to the extreme."

"All of us are into Satanism," says guitarist Eric Hoffman. "We're into it every day—it's not just a show. You'd have to be serious about it to burn an upside-down cross into your head. It shows you're totally Satanic."

"With each Deicide member boasting a heartfelt passion for Satanic arts," one would think they would be personally close. Not so. "The Satanism doesn't bond us personally as much as it does musically," explains Eric. "We're usually at each other's throat, threatening to kill each other." (*Harper's* 1/94) ■

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